

Metaphors separating the United Kingdom from the EU in British parliamentary debates from 2000 to 2016

1. Introduction

In this paper, I analyse metaphors used in British parliamentary debates concerning the European Union (EU) in the time period from January 2000 up to the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU in June 2016. I analyse speeches by six politicians, three of which during the time period analysed (mainly) supported the UK's membership of the EU and three who campaigned against that membership. The pro-EU speakers chosen for this study (Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Theresa May) have all at some point had a crucial role in negotiating the UK's relationship with the EU and they have all served as Prime Ministers. The anti-EU speakers (William Cash, Kate Hoey and Kelvin Hopkins) have all been prominent critics of EU membership and have supported the UK's exit from the EU. I am interested in what kind of metaphors the speakers use when talking about the EU and what type of an image of the EU they create by using them. The approach that I adopted is that of critical metaphor analysis using corpus-assisted methods (see Charteris-Black 2004). The paper is part of a larger study in which I study representations of the EU, and the United Kingdom as a member of it, in British parliamentary debates and press since the start of the UK's membership of the EU.¹

Margaret Thatcher wrote in her memoir that “[...] anyone dealing with the European Community should pay careful attention to metaphors” (1993: 319; quoted in Musolff 2004: 30). Thatcher was referring to metaphors used by the European Community (EC) administration and politicians that support integration, and she argued that, in the EC, metaphors can make new agreements sound vague and less binding. Metaphors have persuasive power, and the main purpose

¹ My PhD dissertation, which is expected to be ready by Autumn 2021.

of analysing metaphors is to make them visible, as they often go unnoticed but still affect our attitudes towards different actors. Especially in political discourse, metaphors can be used to make solutions to complex and abstract political issues sound simple and straightforward, and perhaps even naturalistic and inevitable, which they rarely are. For that reason, political rhetoric is an important field of study for metaphor analysis.

Brexit, in particular, has attracted new scholarly interest in the language and metaphors that have been used in British public discourses about the EU (see e.g. Koller, Kopf and Miglbauer 2019). However, ‘everyday’ parliamentary debates have not attracted as much attention from critical analysts as they perhaps would deserve, and this paper aims at filling that gap. Because of the legislative powers exercised by the parliament, the debates have a crucial role in the functioning of the state. Moreover, after the Brexit process was triggered by Prime Minister Theresa May on 29 March 2017, British citizens started to pay more attention to parliamentary debates (Waterson 2019), which has added to the responsibility of researchers to study and make more visible the various rhetorical devices used by Members of Parliament (MPs), such as metaphors. For instance, according to Riihimäki (2019), in the time period between 1973 and 2015, MPs used metaphors especially when they represented the EU as preventing the UK from achieving its full potential.

The paper is structured in the following way. In the next section I give an overview of the approach to metaphor analysis that is employed in this paper. This is followed by the introduction of the data and methods used in the study. I present the results of the analysis in the fourth section and discussion on the results is included in the concluding section.

2. Critical analysis of metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4), we conceptualise the world through metaphors, which means that metaphor is not just a feature of language, but a system that helps us imagine abstract entities by giving them characteristics of something more concrete. A metaphor becomes a

conceptual metaphor when one domain of experience is systematically used to conceptualise another (Charteris-Black 2004: 9). According to Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003: 155) metaphor involves a meaning shift in the use of a word or phrase in a way that an expression that is familiar in one context is applied to another. In *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the term “linguistic metaphor” is used to refer to the linguistic “realization of a cross-domain conceptual mapping” (Deignan 2005: 34). Deignan (2005: 34) defines linguistic metaphor in the following way:

A metaphor is a word or expression that is used to talk about an entity or quality other than that referred to by its core, or most basic meaning. This non-core use expresses a perceived relationship with the core meaning of the word, and in many cases between two semantic fields.

The definition covers expressions with different degrees of metaphoricity. Innovative metaphors, which are the most prototypical metaphors, require more processing than conventional language use, because in this type of metaphor a word is used in an unconventional context. Conventionalised metaphors, on the other hand, sound “natural” and “common sense”, but they are nevertheless classified as metaphors, because they involve a word or a phrase that is not used in its core or “most basic meaning” (Deignan 2005: 35). Below are examples of these two types of metaphors taken from the British *Hansard*:

- A. In fact, *the leviathan has engulfed* the European single market. (William Cash, 6 February 2008, c1063)
- B. [...] they have allowed the European Union to *go ahead* after all. (William Cash, 26 February 2008, c987)

In example A, Cash is talking about regulations in the EU. The *leviathan* is an innovative metaphor, because the use of the word is unconventional, as it is not regularly used in the target domain of legislation. In example B, *go ahead* would probably go unnoticed for many, because expressions from the source domain of MOVEMENT or JOURNEY are common in political discourse, and thus the

use is conventional. However, the EU does not “move” or “go” from one place to another in the sense that something more concrete does, which makes the expression metaphorical. Both innovative and conventionalised metaphors will be the focus in this study. In addition, there are also dead and historical metaphors, in which there has been a meaning shift at some point in history, but the connection between the word’s original and the “new” meaning have been lost and not used in the processing of the expression anymore (e.g. *comprehend* with the former meaning “take hold”) (Deignan 2005: 36; Goatly 2007: 22).

Even though conventionalised metaphors might go unnoticed and are processed more or less automatically, it does not mean that they have less effect on our cognition. As Goatly (2007: 22) points out, “it is precisely because they are conventionalised that they may achieve the power to subconsciously affect our thinking”. They affect our thinking because they sound “natural” and they “make sense” (Goatly 2007: 29), and, consequently, we believe them to be truthful depictions of the entity in question.

Often, the meaning shift in a metaphor happens from a concrete domain to an abstract one, and this is relevant in political discourse, in particular. Political processes are abstract and difficult to understand, but through metaphors they can be more easily imagined. Through metaphors, speakers can create or make use of “stereotypical schemas” (Charteris-Black and Musolff 2003: 153) to concretise complex processes, for instance by representing a group of states co-operating in a political process as participants on a train journey (e.g. driver, passenger, machine) (see Musolff 2004: 44). However, creating and using these types of schemas can make solutions to political dilemmas seem straightforward, which they rarely or hardly ever are.

Discussion around the EU has involved many metaphors, and they have helped people to imagine and conceptualise the EU, which is an abstract and complex entity. For instance, between 1993 and 2009, the structure of the Union was officially represented with three pillars, and the “European house” metaphor (see e.g. Chilton and Ilyin 1993) has been common in discourses

about the enlargement of the EU (Hülse 2006). According to Kövecses (2002: 127), the source domain of BUILDING is one of the most common source domains used to conceptualise “abstract complex systems”, such as the EU. Furthermore, Musolff (2004: 14) notes that metaphors from the domain of FAMILY have been utilised in the UK to conceptualise the EU, with the focus on the “inter-national” relationships, in particular. In this scenario, the UK has been portrayed as an “outside suitor” in the EU, and Musolff (2004: 22) argues that the British press has been interested in the country’s chances of replacing either France or Germany, which have been represented as forming the central “Euro-couple”. Finally, Margaret Thatcher commented on the metaphor representing the EU as a *train leaving the station without the UK*, which was sometimes used during the debates on ratifying the Maastricht treaty, when she said: “If that train is going in the wrong direction it is better not to be on it at all” (The Times, 31 October 1992; quoted in Musolff 2016: 11). The train metaphor was used to argue that the UK was in danger of being *left behind* if the country does not ratify the treaty, but Thatcher utilised it to argue against further integration. Yet, as pointed out in Musolff (2004: 45), it is irrelevant whether the speaker agrees with a metaphor used in debates about the EU or not, because if a metaphor is systematically employed and it enters the discourse about a particular subject, it has the potential to alter the way we think about the subject.

Each of these conceptualisations has emphasised different aspects of the EU and, at the same time, hidden others. In *Critical Discourse Analysis*, this characteristic of metaphors is called their “framing power” (Musolff 2017: 651). Metaphors are matters of speaker’s choice and their purpose is to persuade listeners (Charteris-Black 2004: 10, 21); the aim of critically studying metaphor use in political discourse is to reveal what the intention of the speaker is. The aim of this paper is to reveal which aspects of the EU have been highlighted and which hidden in the speeches of British politicians supporting the UK’s membership of the EU, on one hand, and in the speeches of MPs that have argued against membership, on the other.

3. Data and Methods

I analysed the metaphor use of three pro-EU and three anti-EU politicians in the British parliament. The pro-EU speakers chosen for this study, Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Theresa May, have all served as Prime Ministers and have also at some point in time had an important role in negotiating the UK's relationship with the EU. The anti-EU speakers, William Cash, Kate Hoey and Kelvin Hopkins, have all been vocal critics of the EU and campaigned against the UK's membership of the Union. Information on each speaker's party affiliation, stance on the European Union membership in 2016 and most important offices can be found in Table 1. The stance on the membership was defined using BBC's article on EU referendum (2016, June), which includes a list on which campaign, namely Leave or Remain, each MP supported prior to the Brexit referendum. In the case of Gordon Brown, who was not in office when the referendum took place, the stance was defined with the help of *TheyWorkForYou* website (theyworkforyou.com), which has information on the voting record of former and current MPs.

Speaker	Party	In office	Stance	Most important offices
Brown	Lab	1983-2015	For	Prime Minister 2007–2010; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1997–2007
Cameron	Con	2001-2016	For	Prime Minister 2010–2016; Leader of the Opposition 2005–2010
May	Con	1997-present	For	Prime Minister 2016–2019; Home Secretary 2010–2016; Minister for Women and Equalities 2010–2012
Cash	Con	1984-present	Against	Shadow Secretary of State 2003–2003; Shadow Attorney General 2001–2003
Hoey	Lab	1989-present	Against	Parliamentary Under-Secretary (Department of National Heritage) (Sport) 1999–2001; Parliamentary Under-Secretary (Home Office) 1998–1999
Hopkins	Lab	1997-present	Against	Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport 2016–2016

Table 1 Members of Parliament whose speeches were analysed.

The speeches were retrieved from *Hansard* (the official report of parliamentary debates in the United Kingdom). The reports of debates are edited transcripts, which means that repetitions, hesitations and some obvious mistakes are corrected by the editors of the report, but the editing

process should not add anything that was not said and, in particular, metaphorical expressions should not appear in *Hansard* if those were not actually used. More discussion on using *Hansard* as primary data can be found in Hiltunen, Räikkönen and Tyrkkö (2019), Mollin (2007) and Slembrouck (1992). The data were retrieved from two websites: the *Historic Hansard* for the speeches from 2000 to 2004, and the *Hansard Online* in the parliament’s official website for the speeches from 2006 to 2016. Speeches from the year 2005 cannot be searched for by a speaker’s name in either of the websites, which is why debates from 2005 are not included in this study. I collected the contributions of each speaker in the debates that had a title that referred to EU affairs (e.g. “Single Market”, “Lisbon Treaty”, “EU Council”). I also collected speeches in the debates titled “Engagements” (that is, Prime Minister’s Question Time) if Europe or the EU was mentioned in the contribution. In addition to the debates in the Commons Chamber, I also included the relevant Westminster Hall debates. The contributions of each speaker were compiled into a corpus and Table 2 shows the number of debates, contributions and words in the corpus of each speaker. The combined size of the corpora used in this study is 895,569 words.

Speaker	Debates	Contributions	Words
Brown	98	669	124,553
Cameron	220	2,953	305,791
May	16	259	40,496
Cash	231	1,683	307,686
Hoey	64	167	28,782
Hopkins	142	505	88,261
Total	771	6,236	895,569

Table 2 Sizes of the corpora used in this study.

Table 3 shows the distribution of words between different groups. The sizes of the corpora of the pro-EU speakers is quite close to that of the anti-EU speakers, but the Conservative speakers’ corpora are clearly larger than those of the Labour speakers, and especially David Cameron and William Cash take large shares of the speeches analysed. As I am more interested in comparing the metaphor use of those that are against EU membership and those that support it, it was not necessary or practical to balance the sizes of the corpora of the two parties.

Party	For EU	Against EU	Total
Conservative	346,287	307,686	653,973
Labour	124,553	117,043	241,596
Total	470,840	424,729	895,569

Table 3 Distribution of data between different groups.

I used a mixed-methods approach with a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses, and I followed the following procedure suggested in Charteris-Black (2004). In the first stage, I read a random sample of five debates from each speaker and identified and collected the metaphorical expressions with a Euro-political reference in the sample. In those expressions, I then identified the words that were used with a metaphorical sense and classified those as metaphor keywords (e.g. *heart* in “Britain at the heart of Europe”). It is not always clear, whether a word is used in a literal or metaphorical sense, as discussed in many works on metaphor (e.g. Deignan 2005). When in doubt, I checked the word definition in *Oxford English Dictionary (OED Online)*, which helped me define whether the use of the word in question was in its basic meaning. If the usage found in my data was listed in the definition of the word in the *OED Online*, the word was removed from the list of metaphor keywords. After identifying the metaphor keywords in the sample, I searched for them in the entire corpus using CasualConc (version 2.0.7) concordance tool and collected the instances for a closer analysis. The next stage was a qualitative phase: I read through the corpus contexts and examined whether the use of the keyword in each instance was metaphoric or literal. In the case the use was metaphoric and used in reference to EU affairs, I included it to the list of the speaker’s metaphors. When reading through the instances, I also looked for new metaphorical expressions in them and added any new words to the list of keywords if those were found.

After reading the samples and after going through the instances of each keyword retrieved by the corpus search, I had a list of 116 words that were used metaphorically in reference to EU affairs at least once, and 1,385 metaphorical expressions in total. The metaphorical expressions were finally analysed more closely from the point of view of what type of a

representation of the EU, or the United Kingdom as a member of the EU, the speakers constructed using those metaphors. The results of the analysis are reported in the next section.

4. Metaphors in debates about the EU

Table 4 shows the number of metaphors that were found in the speeches of each speaker in the context of the EU. Because not all the metaphors can be found through this method, the numbers do not tell how many metaphors were actually used in total, but the normalised frequency can give an approximate density of metaphor usage. Cameron and Cash seem to use metaphors with a fairly similar density and quite clearly more than the others. The other speakers did not seem to use metaphors as much, or they mainly used innovative metaphors that only came up once or twice in the data and did not happen to occur in the sample. The last column in Table 4 shows the distribution of the metaphors, i.e. the proportion of the debates per speaker in which occurred at least one of the metaphor keywords found in the sample.

Speaker	Stance	Metaphor keywords	Normalised freq*	Distribution
Brown	for	143	11.48	33 %
Cameron	for	534	17.46	33 %
May	for	31	7.66	69 %
Cash	against	523	17.00	52 %
Hoey	against	35	12.16	27 %
Hopkins	against	119	13.48	37 %

* per 10,000 words

Table 4 Number of metaphors found in the speeches of each MP.

The normalised frequency of the metaphors found in the speeches of pro-EU speakers is 15.03 per 10,000 words and for the anti-EU speakers it is 15.94. The frequencies for Labour and Conservative speakers are 12.29 and 16.64 per 10,000 words, respectively. Thus, the numbers suggest that anti-EU speakers used more metaphors than pro-EU speakers, but party affiliation seems to be more definitive, at least in the case of these six speakers. However, because the original sample was fairly small compared to the large size of the entire data, the numbers should be interpreted cautiously.

Let us turn to the results of the analysis speaker by speaker. After a brief introduction of the speaker, I introduce the most common metaphors that were found in their speeches. I start with the speakers that have mostly supported the UK's membership of the EU and then move on to the speakers that have campaigned against the membership.

4.1. Pro-EU speakers

In the speeches of the pro-EU speakers, JOURNEY is the most common source domain used in metaphors referring to the EU. Perhaps surprisingly, these speakers also use metaphors from the source domains of COMBAT and PRISON, in which the EU is represented as being a burden or a struggle to its members. Mostly, however, the speakers analysed here are not unified in their use of metaphors in the context of the EU.

4.1.1 Cameron

David Cameron was in opposition for most of the time period analysed in this study, and for five parliamentary sessions he was the Leader of the Opposition, trying to challenge Prime Minister Tony Blair or Gordon Brown. He became Prime Minister (PM) in 2010, when the Conservatives formed a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. The EU was an often-discussed topic during his administration, and in the run up to the 2015 general election, Cameron and the Conservative party promised to arrange a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU if the party won the majority, which they did. In 2016, he voted and campaigned for remaining in the Union.

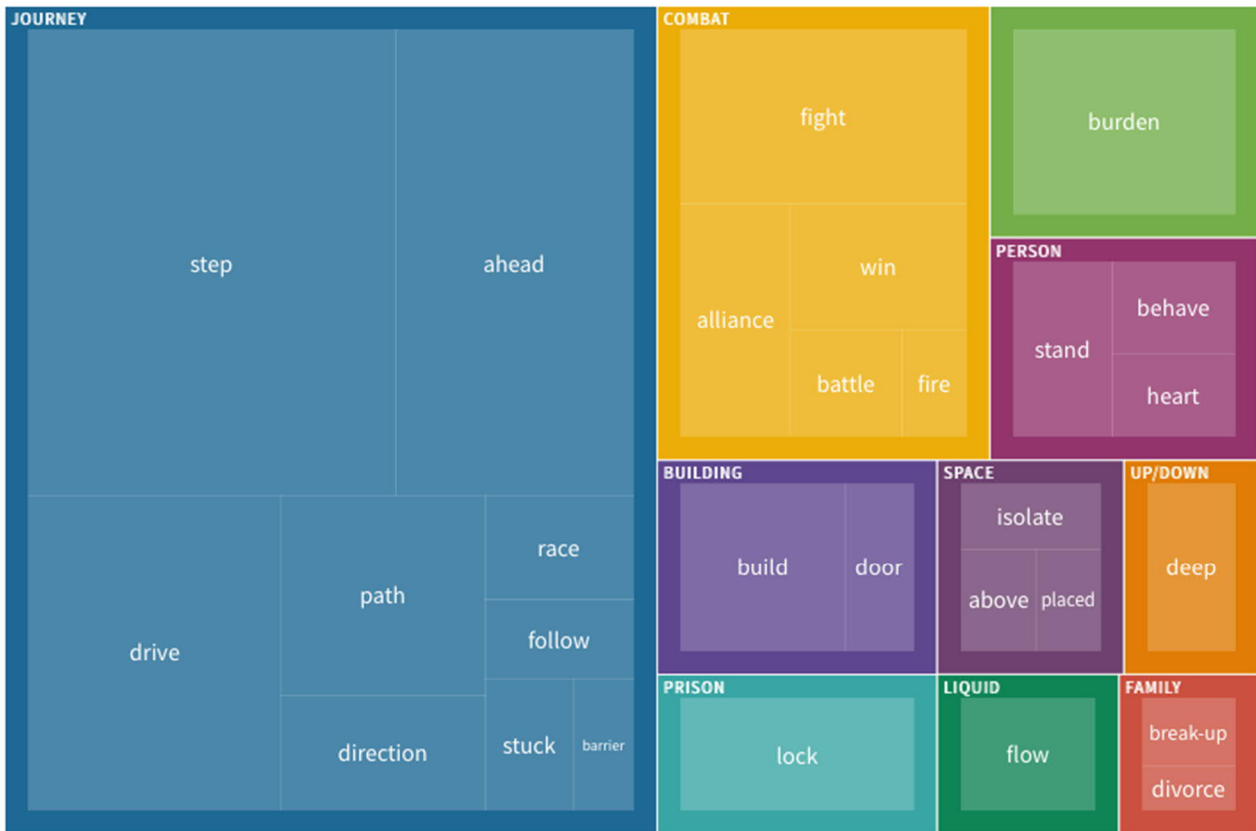


Figure 1 The metaphor keywords in Cameron's corpus that appeared at least four times.

Figure 1 is a treemap that shows the metaphor keywords that appeared at least four times in Cameron's corpus. In the treemap, each source domain is assigned a rectangle area with the keywords nested inside it. The sizes of the rectangles are in proportion to the number of occurrences of each keyword.

Only 14 occurrences of the metaphors found in Cameron's speeches were from the time before he became PM. Thus, it seems that he started to use metaphors more after June 2010 and almost all of the metaphors discussed here are from the time when he was PM.

Domain	Keyword	Example context	Occurrences
JOURNEY	<i>step</i>	an important step forward	88
	<i>ahead</i>	eurozone countries go ahead	57
	<i>drive</i>	one of the driving forces	41
	<i>path</i>	have chosen their path	21
	<i>direction</i>	Europe chose a new direction	12
COMBAT	<i>fight</i>	fight our corner	29
	<i>alliance</i>	build an alliance	15
	<i>win</i>	argument that we can win	13
PRISON	<i>lock</i>	referendum lock	20

BUILDING	<i>build</i>	opportunities to build the sort of settlement we want in Europe	19
LIQUID	<i>flow</i>	powers flow from Brussels to London	13
UP/DOWN	<i>deep</i>	integrate more deeply	13

Table 5 The most common metaphors in Cameron's speeches.

As can be seen in Table 5, the most common metaphors in Cameron's speeches come from the domain of JOURNEY. For Cameron, taking *steps forward* is important, but it is not the United Kingdom that should take the *steps*. Instead, he uses this metaphor to speak about the Eurozone, which he sees as having many problems. According to Cameron, the Eurozone should take *steps* to integrate more in order for them to survive. In example 1, Cameron says that "we", the United Kingdom and the other EU countries, should guide the Eurozone so that they make the right decisions.

- 1) [...] important that we help to encourage eurozone countries to **take the right steps** to sort out their issues. (27 June 2011, c623; emphases in the examples are mine)

In this context, the United Kingdom is represented as being in a better position than the Eurozone, because the Eurozone is lagging behind in the economic development. This way, Cameron tries to convince the parliament that the United Kingdom made the right decision when it opted out from the single currency.

In Cameron's speeches, the metaphors including the keywords *ahead* and *drive* are related to someone or something wanting to make changes and integrate *faster* than others in the EU. Some parts of the EU, for instance the Eurozone, *go ahead* in integration, while the United Kingdom waits and perhaps *follows* later if it is in the country's national interest to do so. However, when Cameron uses the word *drive*, it is often the United Kingdom that is the *driving* force and wants to *push through* changes that are said to be in the interest of the whole Union.

Cameron also uses metaphors from the source domain of COMBAT, and in particular, he talks about the government and himself as *fighting* for British interests in the EU, as in example

2.

- 2) In answer to the question of whether we will go in there and **fight for British interests** on Thursday and Friday – yes, absolutely we will. (7 December 2011, c293)

In this metaphor, EU countries are *fighting* for their own interests, against each other. However, the United Kingdom is described as *winning* friends or *allies*, which can help them eventually *win* arguments. Even though the *allies* are often mentioned, this metaphor puts aside the co-operative aspect of the meetings and the EU in general and, instead, emphasises the aggressive aspect of debating in the EU.

4.1.2 Brown

Gordon Brown became PM in 2007 after the resignation of Tony Blair. Before that, he served as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He stood down as the Leader of the Labour party in 2010. During his time as PM, the government signed the Treaty of Lisbon, which gave more power to the European Parliament and changed voting procedures in the Council. The Labour party had promised a referendum on the original Treaty, which was rejected by voters in France and Holland, but according to Brown, the revised Treaty was different and for that reason did not require a referendum (*BBC News*, October 2007). Brown was challenged for his decision to not put the Treaty to the people by the Leader of the Opposition David Cameron.

Figure 2 shows an overview of the metaphor keywords in Brown's speeches. Similarly to Cameron, Brown rarely used metaphors in opposition. Only six of all the metaphors found in his speeches were from the speeches given after June 2010. Table 6 introduces the most common metaphors found in Brown's speeches.

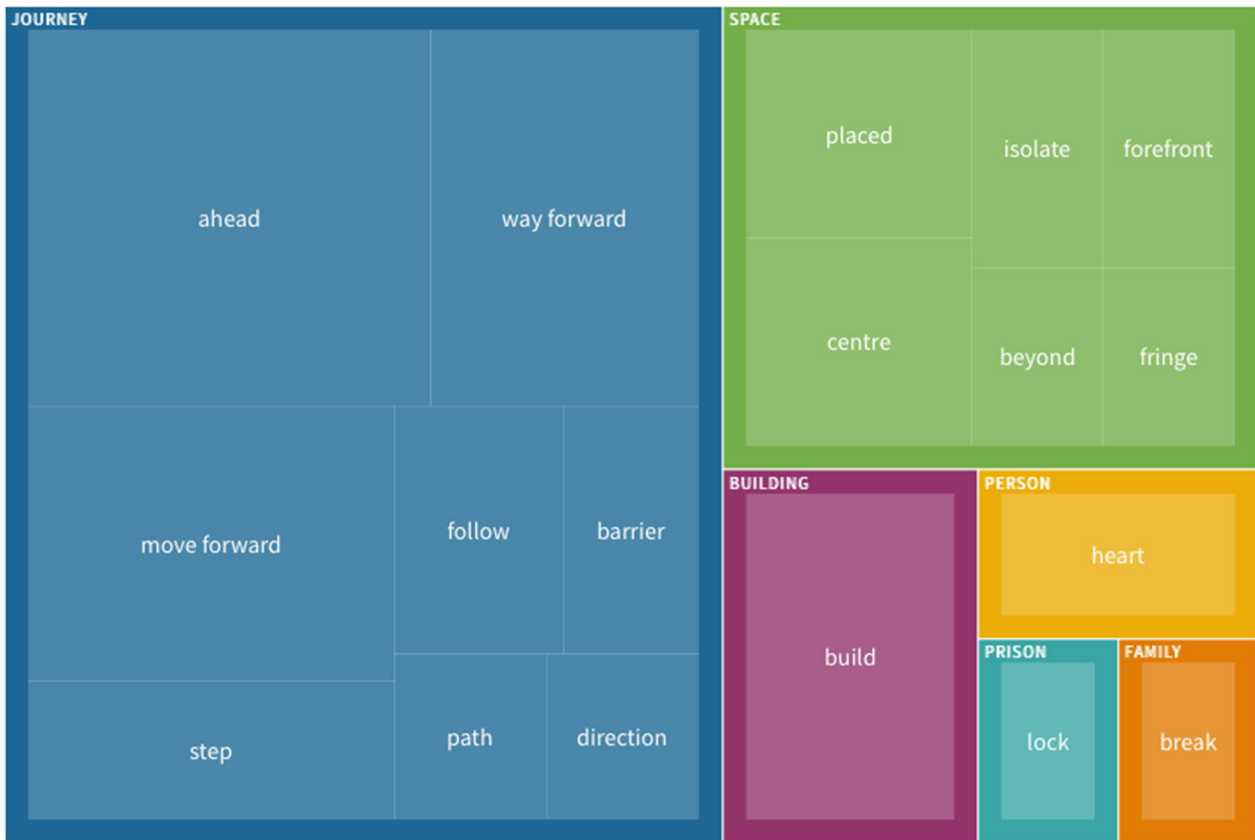


Figure 2 The metaphor keywords in Brown's speeches that appeared at least three times.

Domain	Keyword	Example context	Occurrences
JOURNEY	<i>ahead</i>	we agreed that we should now press ahead	18
	<i>way forward</i>	that is the right way forward	12
	<i>move forward</i>	on moving forward the single market	12
	<i>step</i>	EU member states should as a first step	6
	<i>follow</i>	wanting other countries to follow	5
	<i>barrier</i>	competition barriers to European Union-USA trade	4
BUILDING	<i>build</i>	to build further safeguards into the legislation	10
SPACE	<i>placed</i>	we are better placed	6
	<i>centre</i>	Britain to be at the centre of Europe	6
	<i>isolate</i>	again to become isolated in Europe	4
	<i>forefront</i>	being at the forefront of Europe	4

Table 6 The most common metaphors in Brown's speeches.

In Brown's speeches, the metaphors utilising the source domain JOURNEY represent the EU as acting together, and Brown concentrates on how the EU should *move forward* together and which *steps* the EU should take next. In this sense, Brown is different from Cameron, as Cameron concentrated on separate groups or countries in the EU that need to take *steps* to solve a problem

instead of talking about the *way forward* for the whole EU. However, similarly to Cameron, Brown speaks for *moving forward* or taking *steps*.

Brown also represents the EU as a SPACE where each member state has its own place. In his speeches, the United Kingdom is at the *centre* and *better placed* than other member states to, for instance, benefit economically from the EU. He warns against being *isolated* from the rest or being on the *fringe* of Europe, which might happen if the United Kingdom does certain things differently than the others. As PM, Brown highlighted the UK's role as a leader at the *centre* of Europe (see Riihimäki 2019), while also emphasising the co-operative aspect of the EU or Europe. In example 3, Brown is talking about actions against climate change in Europe, and he says that Europe should work together to get the whole world agree to the same principles.

- 3) Only a common European approach – a Europe with **Britain not at the margins but at the centre**, leading the world – can ensure a global low-carbon economy founded on our proposal of a global carbon market. (17 March 2008, c618)

While saying that he wants to see Europe working together, Brown adds that he is talking about a Europe where the United Kingdom is at the *centre*. Thus, the desired Europe is the one where the United Kingdom has a leading role.

4.1.3 May

Before she became PM in 2016 after the resignation of David Cameron, the EU was not a topic of interest for Theresa May. The offices she held were more concerned with domestic issues, which might also explain the low number of contributions on EU debates before June 2016. May was included in the study despite the low number of contributions because of her important role in Brexit negotiations from March 2017 onwards. Moreover, as Home Secretary, she had an important role in deciding which EU police and criminal justice measures the United Kingdom was to adopt, as they had negotiated an ability to opt in to only some of them.

May was categorised as a supporter of the EU, because she voted and campaigned for remaining in the EU prior to the Brexit referendum, but her voting record on EU affairs shows a mixed picture of her stance. For instance, she voted against the Lisbon Treaty in opposition, but when in government after June 2010, she mainly voted for more integration in the EU.

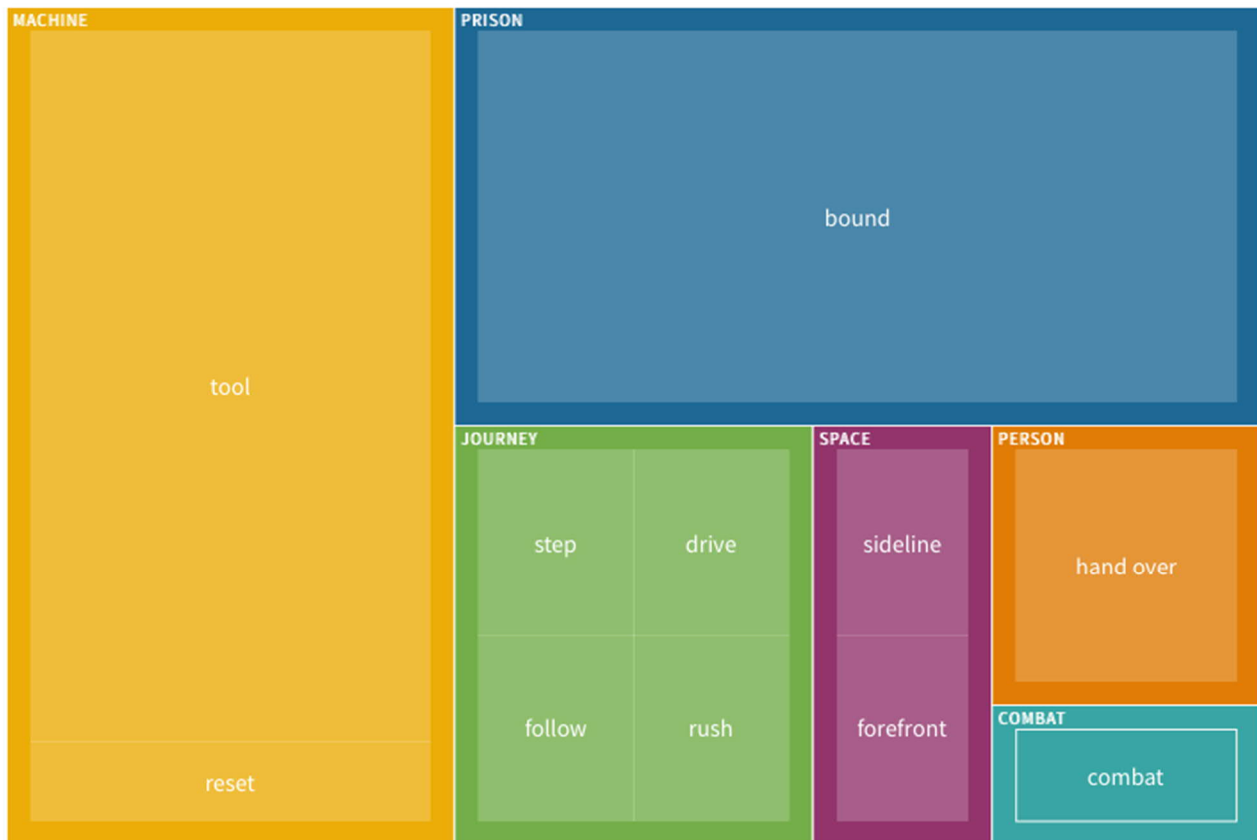


Figure 3 The metaphor keywords in May's speeches.

Figure 3 introduces the metaphor keywords in May's speeches. Most of the keywords only appeared once in her speeches, and not many metaphors were found overall.² Examples of the most common source domains in May's speeches are given in Table 7.

Domain	Keyword	Example context	Occurrences
PRISON	<i>bound</i>	remaining bound by measures	9
MACHINE	<i>tool</i>	the tools they need to work with our European neighbours	9
JOURNEY	<i>drive</i>	put Parliament back in the driving seat	1

² See Charteris-Black (2009) for a discussion on the effect of experience and gender on how Members of Parliament use metaphors.

<i>follow</i>	We intend to follow that process.	1
<i>rush</i>	not one that we should rush into lightly	1
<i>step</i>	about making a practical step of co-operation	1

Table 7 The most common metaphors in May's speeches.

By using the word *bound* from the source domain of PRISON, May represents the EU as restricting its member states through treaties and legislation. In this metaphor, the EU is not giving its members freedom to move and is forcing them to obey the rules. However, in May's speeches, the metaphor is mostly used in the context of renegotiation, and she often adds that the United Kingdom does not need to be *bound* by the regulations but is able to change the power relations, as in example 4.

- 4) Under the terms of the Lisbon treaty, the Government are required to decide by 2014 whether we opt out of, or **remain bound** by, all the EU police and criminal justice measures adopted prior to the treaty's entry into force. (15 October 2012, c34)

Even though May says that the regulations are not compulsory for the United Kingdom, she is talking evaluatively about the EU police and criminal justice measures. She frames the message so that opting out of the measures would be seen as freeing the United Kingdom from the restricting legislation of the EU, which sounds more positive than "remaining bound". *Bound* was also used by the other two Conservative speakers, Cameron (three occurrences) and Cash (13 occurrences), in the context of the EU restricting its members' freedom. In comparison, in the Labour speakers' corpora, only two occurrences of this keyword were found, even though the data includes two anti-EU speakers from the Labour party. Thus, it could perhaps be that representing the EU as restricting its members' freedom is more common in the Conservative party's EU rhetoric than in that of the Labour party.

4.2. Anti-EU speakers

In the speeches of the anti-EU speakers, the most common metaphors come from the source domain of JOURNEY, similarly to the pro-EU speakers. These speakers also employ the conceptual metaphor

where BAD IS LOW, as they talk about going *deeper* into Europe and represent the EU as a *hole* from which it is difficult to come out.

4.2.1 Cash

William Cash has been one of the most prominent critics of the EU in the Conservative Party. Since 2010, he has acted as the Chair of the European Scrutiny Committee, which selects the EU documents for debate in the House of Commons. Furthermore, Cash was one of the “Maastricht Rebels” in the early 1990s who did not support John Major and his government on implementing the Maastricht Treaty in the national law. In 1993, he founded the *European Foundation*, which is a Eurosceptic “think tank” dedicated to “analysis of threats from the European treaty or Act of Parliament to the sovereignty of the United Kingdom” (europeanfoundation.org, accessed 8 April 2019).

Figure 4 introduces the metaphor keywords with at least five occurrences in Cash’s speeches. Except for the metaphors from the domain of JOURNEY and SPACE, the keywords alone seem to create a fairly negative image of the EU, as many of them denote some type of a difficulty or struggle.

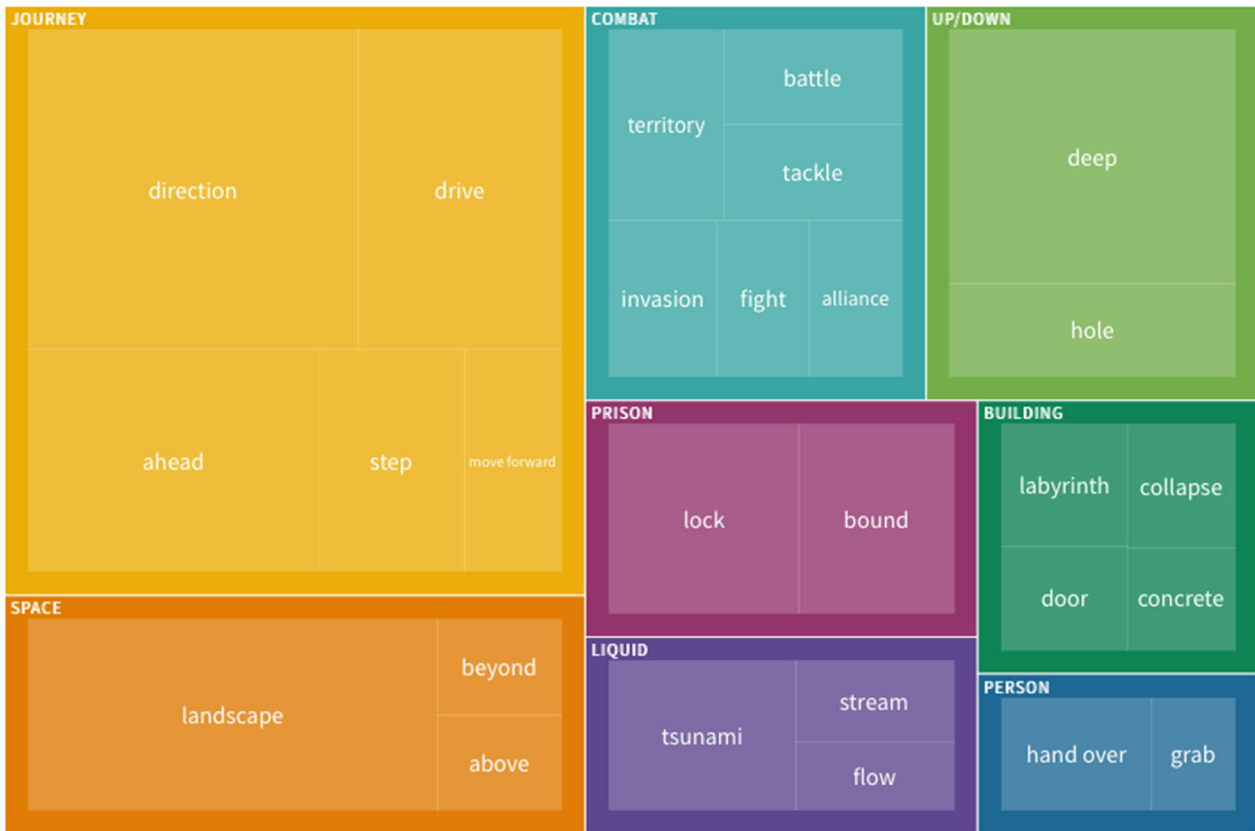


Figure 4 The metaphor keywords in Cash's speeches that appeared at least five times.

Domain	Keyword	Example context	Occurrences
JOURNEY	<i>direction</i>	we always go in the wrong direction	39
	<i>drive</i>	will effectively be driven by the European Union	24
	<i>ahead</i>	we must keep ahead of the curve; allowing the core member states to go ahead	24
	<i>step</i>	another step towards political union	12
	<i>move forward</i>	we move forward on the negotiations	8
SPACE	<i>landscape</i>	we should not enter this landscape	33
UP/DOWN	<i>deep</i>	further and deeper European integration	30
	<i>hole</i>	the deep black hole that has already been created	11
PRISON	<i>lock</i>	to lock down and contain member states	16
	<i>bound</i>	we are bound by those sections of the 1972 Act	13
LIQUID	<i>tsunami</i>	the enormous tsunami invading our legal system	13
COMBAT	<i>territory</i>	moves us into very dangerous territory	9
	<i>battle</i>	the lines for the battle of Maastricht	7
	<i>tackle</i>	tackle the fundamental structural question	7
	<i>invasion</i>	a severe invasion of the sovereignty	7

Table 8 The most common metaphors in Cash's speeches.

As can be seen in Table 8, Cash also represents the EU as *moving forward*, but for Cash, the *direction* is often wrong. Also, similarly to Cameron, Cash uses *drive* to talk about the actors that are causing something to happen, but in Cash's speeches it is the EU that is *driving* towards

something, with the member states on the passenger's seat. Example 5, where Cash is talking about free trade agreements, is an occurrence of this metaphor. Cash argues that the United Kingdom has no real say in the policies that will be developed.

- 5) The whole policy will effectively be **driven by** the European Union and its objectives, which are largely dominated by Germany. (22 April 2013, c702)

In the metaphors from the source domain of JOURNEY, Cash seems to imply that the movement should be stopped now, or it will be too late. He creates a sense of urgency; because the EU is constantly *moving forward*, the parliament is forced to make decisions in a hurry. He also represents the new developments as being *steps* towards a *deeper* political union, which he sees as a threat. The keyword *deep* could be seen as a realisation of the common conceptual metaphor BAD IS LOW, and this seems to be true in Cash's speeches, in particular, because he argues that integration should be avoided. In general, the word pair *deep(er)* and *integration* has been used by both sides of the debate, by anti-EU speakers as well as supporters of the EU.

Finally, Cash also uses metaphors from the source domain of COMBAT, and they represent the EU as a "field of battle", where the United Kingdom needs to defend its sovereignty. The COMBAT metaphors highlight the aspect of the EU in which nothing comes easily, and in which each member state is only looking after their own interests. Consequently, the aspect of co-operation is hidden.

4.2.2 Hopkins

Kelvin Hopkins, currently an Independent MP, was one of the few Labour MPs to campaign for Leave in the 2016 referendum. He has been a member of the European Scrutiny Committee and supports the group *Leave Means Leave* that is campaigning for "clean, swift exit from the European Union" (leavemeansleave.eu, accessed 9 April 2019). Figure 5 introduces the metaphor keywords that appeared in Hopkins' speeches at least twice.

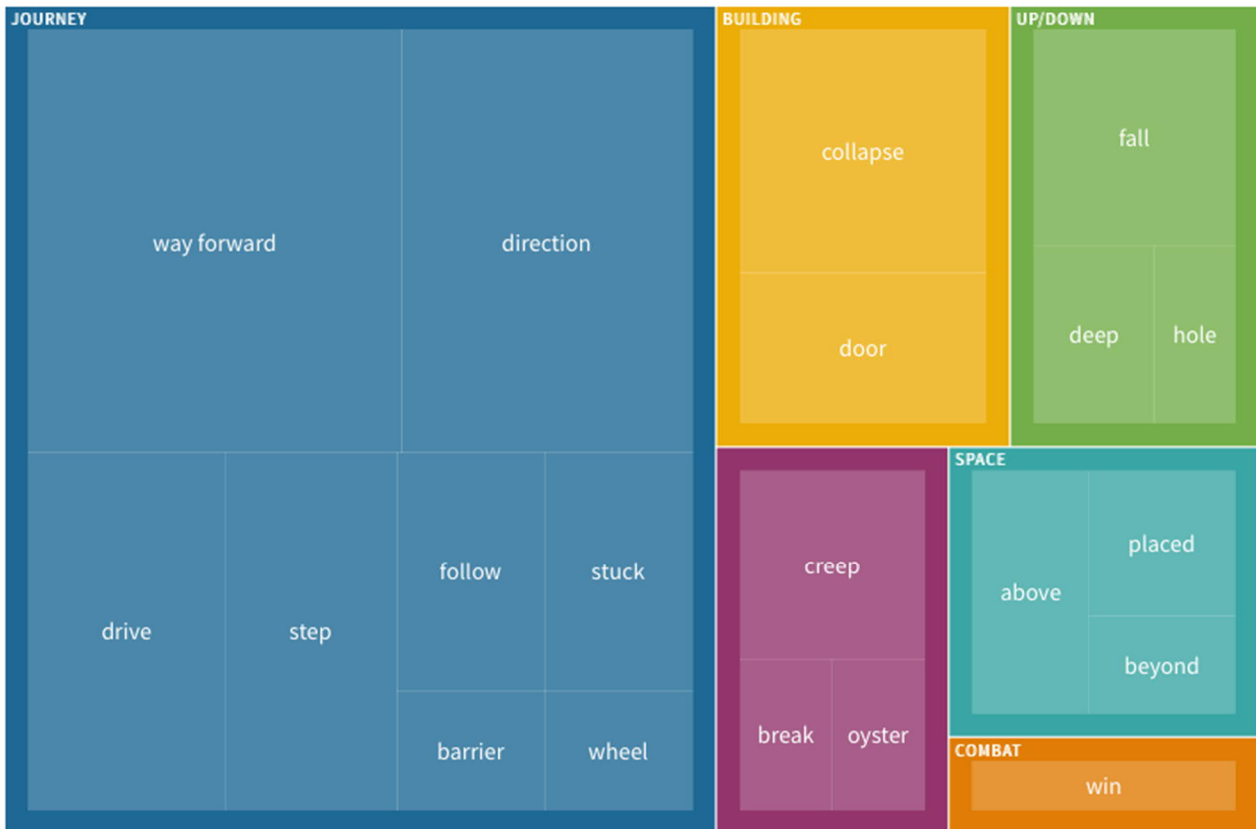


Figure 5 The metaphor keywords in Hopkins' speeches that appeared at least twice.

Domain	Keyword	Example context	Occurrences
JOURNEY	<i>way forward</i>	a more sensible way forward	18
	<i>direction</i>	we are in danger of going in that direction now	14
	<i>drive</i>	to drive all member states to join the eurozone	8
	<i>step</i>	the first step on the way to a single currency	7
	<i>follow</i>	others will need to follow	4
BUILDING	<i>collapse</i>	almost led to an economic collapse	8
	<i>door</i>	benefits massively from having us next door	5
UP/DOWN	<i>fall</i>	we fall below those standards	6

Table 9 The most common metaphors in Hopkins' speeches.

The most common metaphors used by Hopkins come from the source domain of JOURNEY, as can be seen in Table 9, and new agreements and developments in the Union are seen as movement either to a wrong or right *direction*. Furthermore, in Hopkins' speeches, the EU is represented as taking *steps* that are too big. Thus, similarly to Cash, Hopkins creates a sense of urgency as he represents the EU as constantly *moving*, and if the *direction* is wrong according to Hopkins, the United Kingdom should try to stop or slow down the movement, so that the country does not end up in a place in which it does not want to be. The sense of urgency is also created in example 6, in

which Hopkins talks about the EU as a vehicle whose speed needs to be slowed down before it is too late.

- 6) Whatever else is true about the European Union, there is certainly continuing pressure to **speed up** and intensify economic integration. Unfortunately for the European Union, some of the **wheels** are coming off the euro currency project at this very moment. Surely when **wheels** are coming off it is time to **slow down or stop** and think again possibly about the **direction** but certainly about the **machine**. (23 November 2000, c508)

As in example 6 and through the use of other JOURNEY metaphors, as well, Hopkins does not represent the EU as a co-operation between countries, but rather as some external body that has control over its members. Consequently, the EU is represented as the driver for change and the members are only passengers without the power to control the *speed* or the *direction*.

4.2.3 Hoey

Kate Hoey, an MP since 1989, has been one of the most prominent female Brexit supporters in the British parliament, and she has also been a member of the European Scrutiny Committee since 2015. In the parliament, she has focused on issues concerning sports and foreign affairs, especially African countries. Figure 6 introduces the metaphor keywords found in Hoey's speeches.

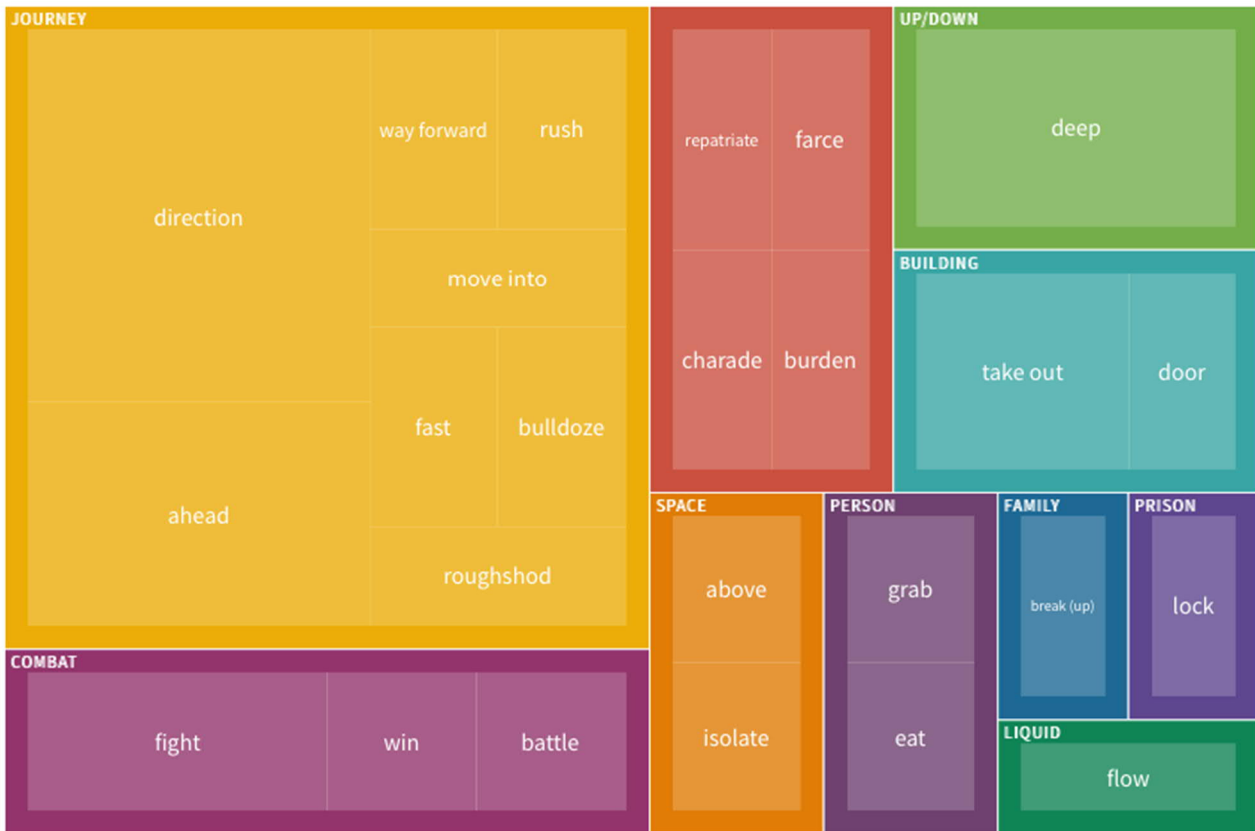


Figure 6 The metaphor keywords in Hoey's speeches.

Domain	Keyword	Example context	Occurrences
JOURNEY	<i>direction</i>	whether the country supports the direction in which the EU has come	5
	<i>ahead</i>	why did we need to forge ahead and be ahead of everybody else	3
UP/DOWN	<i>deep</i>	pushing still for deeper and wider union	3

Table 10 The most common metaphors in Hoey's speeches.

Most of the metaphors Hoey used only came up once or twice in her speeches. Table 10 shows the only three metaphor keywords that were used at least three times. However, similarly to the other speakers, Hoey talks about the EU as an entity that is *moving forward*, and she, too, implies that the movement is too fast and that the decisions cannot be evaluated properly because of the speed. She argues that, related to the EU, measures are *rushed through* (23 April 2012), and asks why the United Kingdom has to “forge *ahead* and be *ahead* of everybody else” (4 March 2008). Furthermore, she says that the EU *bulldozes* measures through (16 June 2004), and “*ride[s]* *roughshod* over democratic will of citizens” (15 May 2015). By using these metaphors, she implies

that the EU is undemocratic and that the member states have no control over the decision-making processes in the EU. *Bulldoze* and *ride roughshod* were also used by Cash in similar contexts.

Among the more innovative metaphors used by Hoey are keywords *charade* and *farce*, and she uses these words to describe the parliamentary procedures related to or required by the EU as futile. Example 7 introduces the occurrence of *charade*.

- 7) Given that the requirement for the Government's assessment was passed under the Maastricht treaty, for which no one in the country voted, and that it must go to a Commission that no one in this country has elected, why does an independent British Parliament have to go through this procedure – **this charade** – every year? (24 April 2012, c855)

In example 7, Hoey is talking about the requirement under section 5 of the European Communities (Amendment) Act 1993 that each member state send to the European Commission data on the country's economic and budgetary position. Hoey suggests that the procedure is just a for a show and that it has no real relevance for the functioning of the EU.

5. Discussion

JOURNEY was the most common source domain for the metaphors used in relation to the European Union, and metaphorical expressions representing the EU as an entity that is *moving forward* was found in the speeches of each of the six speakers. However, there were differences between the speakers in who they represented as being the one that determines the *direction* and the *speed* in the EU. In Cameron's speeches, for instance, the *driver* for change was the UK, while in the speeches of the anti-EU speakers, the EU was the *driver* and the member states only passengers without any control over what happens in the EU. Brown was the only one in whose speeches the EU countries were represented as taking *steps* and *moving forward* together. In the speeches of the anti-EU speakers, the EU was represented as moving too *fast*, and the aim of the British government to *be ahead* of every other country was criticised. They argued that the movement should be stopped or slowed down before it is too late and before the UK ends up in a situation where it does not want to be. In general, metaphors from the source domain of JOURNEY represent political processes as linear

and as a movement towards an undefined goal. Representing the process as linear can be one of the reasons why integration among EU member states has been seen as a threat in the UK. In this schema, each new agreement in the EU in which the member states decide to co-operate on a new political issue can be seen as a *step* towards *further* (or *deeper*) integration, and the *further* the integration goes, the more difficult it is to return to the starting point and to the time when the country was completely sovereign.

Moreover, in addition to being *too fast*, the movement was also described as uncontrollable, as the EU was represented as *bulldozing* measures through, *riding roughshod* over the democratic will of its citizens and even as moving with some of the *wheels* coming off. Thus, there is a sense of urgency and a feeling that the EU is going too far without giving things enough thought, and the pressure to stop the *movement* grows with every new *step*. On the contrary, the pro-EU speakers argued that moving *forward* is important and staying still or lagging behind would be harmful. For this reason, the EU needs to constantly evolve and move towards a goal, which can never be achieved, however, because it remains undefined. They also argued that the EU would work better with the United Kingdom at the centre, leading and being the *driver*. In this schema, other countries should follow the United Kingdom, because the United Kingdom has not made the mistakes that, for instance, the Eurozone has made.

Finally, many of the metaphors represented the EU as being somewhere else, outside the United Kingdom, and an entity that can be evaluated as either being beneficial or a threat. Europe or the EU was often talked about as if it was separate from the United Kingdom or a place where British representatives go to *fight* for British interests and then return to report back about the outcome, which can be described as a *win* or a *defeat*. In this type of rhetoric, the aspect of the EU as a co-operation of European countries is forgotten, as are the goals of the EU to represent the interests of all of its members, and instead, the member states are seen as individual, separate countries looking after and *fighting* for their own interests. Moreover, the EU was represented as a

restricting power that binds its members through regulation. Metaphors from the source domain of PRISON were mainly found in Conservative speakers' contributions, but they were nevertheless used by both those that support the membership and those that are against it. May, however, used *bound* in the context of renegotiation, and she said that the United Kingdom does not need to “remain bound” by the EU. Even though she argued that not all rules are compulsory, and that the EU does not bind its members forcefully, by using this metaphor she still drew a picture of the EU as restricting the freedom of its members. As pointed out in Musolff (2004: 45), it does not matter whether the speaker agrees with a way some entity has been metaphorically represented. What matters is the fact that the metaphor has been used and it has entered the discourse. Thus, speakers on both sides of the debate contributed to creating an image of the EU as an entity that prevents the United Kingdom from reaching its full potential.

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